

Panorama Section

July 4, 1964

'The All Too Powerful CIA'

THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT, by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross (Random House, \$5.95).

By William McGaffin

THIS BOOK is well worth reading for the insight, both fascinating and frightening, which it provides into the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency and the numerous other appendages of what the authors describe as our "invisible government."

It was written by two of the brightest young correspondents in Washington: David Wise of the New York



Thomas B. Ross

Herald Tribune and Thomas B. Ross of The Chicago Sun-Times. As with their first book, "The U-2 Affair," there is an unmistakable ring of authenticity about the disturbing story they have to tell.

THEIR CENTRAL POINT is not new. This is that a much tighter control needs to be established by Congress and the President over the all too powerful CIA & Co. Other books have carried the same message. But it has never before been so fully developed and documented as it has been in this comprehensive volume. It is, moreover, a point that can hardly be over-emphasized. Anyone who cares deeply about the preservation of our democratic system of government will read this book with a growing sense of uneasiness.

The authors note that Congress provides money for the intelligence network without knowing how much it has appropriated or how it will be spent. They estimate that a total of 200,000 persons are employed and that the annual cost runs to \$4 billion. They observe that American ambassadors in overseas posts are supposed to have control over the government's secret agents. But the agents "maintain communications and codes of their own," they point out, and the ambassador's authority "has been judged by a U.S. Senate Committee to be a polite fiction." At the time of the release of this article, more than a score of offices in major U.S. cities, and is "deeply involved" in many domestic activities

"from broadcasting stations and a steamship company to the university campus."

They readily acknowledge that some form of "invisible government" is essential to national security as long as the Cold War goes on. They also agree that it can never be made fully compatible with the democratic system. But they believe a number of things could and should be done to place checks on its power.

THEY DEAL AT LENGTH with the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961 and also disclose that the CIA in 1958 secretly supported the rebels who attempted to overthrow the government of Indonesia's President Sukarno. "Was it worth running the risk of permanently alienating Sukarno by supporting his enemies?" they inquire. "Was it worth running the risk of national humiliation in attempting to overthrow Castro?" Special operations such as these, they declare, "raise the question of how far a free society, in attempting to preserve itself, can emulate a closed society without becoming indistinguishable from it." They should be launched, in their view, "only when the alternative of inaction carries with it the gravest risk to national security."

They are concerned as well that the CIA's activities here at home "might become in time an internal danger to a free society." Congress and the President should give this problem their urgent attention, they advise. They also counsel the academic world to "re-examine its acceptance of hidden money from the CIA." The potential danger here, they suggest, is that the universities will find themselves so closely allied with the CIA that they will have lost their ability to function as independent critics of our government and society.

Finally, they recommend that Congress should be kept



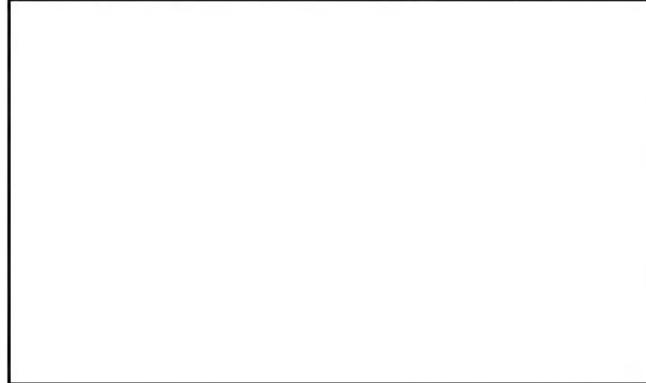
David Wise

fully and properly informed on the "invisible government's" operations through the establishment of a joint House-Senate Committee similar to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. And they call for steps to insure that our ambassadors wield real rather than theoretical

CIA-RDP66B00403R000500100010 countries.

William McGaffin is a member of The Daily News' Washington Bureau.

JULY 5, 1964



Best Seller List

	June 14	June 21	June 28	This Week	An analysis, based on reports from more than 125 bookstores in 64 communities throughout the United States, showing the sales rating of the leading fiction and general titles. Sales through outlets other than bookstores are not included, and figures which are shown in the right-hand column do not necessarily represent consecutive weeks appearance on the list.	Weeks on List
Fiction						
1	1	1	1	1	The Spy Who Came in From the Cold. <i>Le Carré</i>	25
2	2	2	2	2	Convention. <i>Knebel and Bailey</i>	15
6	3	3	3	3	Candy. <i>Southern and Hoffenberg</i>	6
7	6	4	4	4	Armageddon. <i>Uris</i>	3
4	5	5	5	5	The Night in Lisbon. <i>Remarque</i>	12
3	4	4	6	6	The Spire. <i>Golding</i>	8
20	7	7	7	7	Julian. <i>Vidal</i>	3
5	6	3	8	8	The Group. <i>McCarthy</i>	46
3	9	10	9	9	Von Ryan's Express. <i>Westheimer</i>	19
7	8	10	10	10	The Martyred. <i>Kim</i>	16
General						
1	1	1	1	1	A Moveable Feast. <i>Hemingway</i>	7
2	2	2	2	2	Four Days. <i>U.P.I. and American Heritage</i>	21
3	3	3	3	3	Diplomat Among Warriors. <i>Murphy</i>	16
4	4	4	4	4	A Day in the Life of President Kennedy. <i>Bishop</i>	17
5	5	5	5	5	The Naked Society. <i>Packard</i>	13
	7	6	7	6	A Tribute to John F. Kennedy. <i>Salinger and Vanocur</i>	2
	7	7	7	7	The Invisible Government. <i>Weiss and Ross</i>	1
8	6	6	8	8	John Lennon in His Own Write. <i>Lennon</i>	5
9	8	9	9	9	When the Cheering Stopped. <i>Smith</i>	14
6	7	9	10	10	The Green Felt Jungle. <i>Reid and Demaris</i>	23

file

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MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
TRIBUNE

m. 215,803
S. 651,844

Front Page Edit Page Other Page

Date: JUN 16 1964

Is Only Silence About the CIA Wanted?

WHATEVER the merits of two books dealing with the Central Intelligence Agency, some of the government complaints about them thus far seem to be based more on fiction than fact.

One book, "The Invisible Government," claims the intelligence business is operated without adequate reporting to Congress or the White House. The other, "The Bay of Pigs," says Cuban rebels were told to disregard President Kennedy if he decided at the last minute to halt the 1961 Cuban invasion.

Some officials are upset by both suggestions. The first book's publisher, however, says two requests to the

government to point out manuscript errors went unanswered, and officials concede that Cuban rebels did believe they were supposed to forget any change of mind by Kennedy. A language mixup is offered as an explanation, but such boners shouldn't happen.

Does the government want only silence about the CIA? No doubt the agency needs a cloak of secrecy to practice its trade, but that doesn't mean public comment on its functions and flops is out of bounds. To ignore information available to any foreign agent worth his pay is an invitation to the CIA to put its own policies ahead of the nation's.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
POST-HERALD

m. 98,671

Front Page Edit Page Other Page

Date: JUN 16 1964

4 Pilots 'CIA Airmen,' Magazine Reports

BY LILLIAN FOSCUE

"We always thought it was the CIA," said a relative of one of four Birmingham fliers who died April 19, 1961, flying at the Bay of Pigs.

In the current issue of Look magazine, David Wise and Thomas B. Ross declare the men were "American CIA airmen."

The four, Thomas Willard Ray, Leo Francis Baker, Riley W. Shamburger Jr. and Wade Carroll Gray, were hired through a Miami lawyer, Alex E. Carlson.

He said Carlson's organization, Double-Chek, had put some anti-Castro Cubans in touch with the fliers early in April. He said the organization had requested its identity remain confidential.

The men had been hired to fly cargo, Carlson said.

In May, checks began arriving every two weeks for the four widows. First made out for \$225 apiece, the checks were signed by Carlson, Look Magazine says.

Checks Increase

Later the article said, the checks were increased to \$245 apiece and were issued by Bankers Trust Co. of New York.

The Look article, adapted from a book, "The Invisible Govern-

ment," lists the several communications to members of the families in which any knowledge on the part of the CIA is denied.

A letter from Brig. Gen. Godfrey T. McHugh, Air Force Aide to President Kennedy, to the mother of Riley W. Shamburger Jr., says:

"If any information is ever obtained on circumstances surrounding the loss of your son, you will be informed immediately. Unfortunately, at present neither CIA nor any other government agency possesses the slightest pertinent information on your son's disappearance," wrote General McHugh.

In February of last year, Sen. Everett M. Dirksen, Senate minority leader, said four American fliers had been killed at the Bay of Pigs. The authors in Look said a month before

that Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy had said no Americans died at the Bay of Pigs.

On March 6, President John Kennedy was asked if the four men who lost their lives in the Bay of Pigs invasion were employees of the government or the CIA.

He answered, "They were serving their country. The flight that cost them their lives was a volunteer flight, and that while because of the nature of their work it has not been a matter of public record, as it might be in the case of soldiers or sailors, I can say they were serving their country . . ."

Families of the four say they have heard nothing further.

Reluctant to discuss the checks, the four widows have picked up their lives as best they can. Mrs. Margaret Ray and her two children have moved to Montgomery.

The others still live in the Birmingham area. The daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Shamburger has married and is living in Woodlawn, her grandmother said.

The Grays had no children. Baker is survived by his widow and three children, one by a previous marriage.

Gen. Reid Doster, command-

SPOKANE, WASH.
SPOKESMAN-REVIEW

m. 88,715
S. 129,724

Front Page Edit Page Other Page

Date: JUN 16 1964

Fair Criticism Still Essential

A news report from Washington that John McCone, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, has been taking part in efforts to suppress or discredit a book critical of his agency will be viewed with concern by many Americans.

Two Washington, D.C., correspondents for U.S. newspapers have written a book, soon to be published, about the CIA called "The Invisible Government." A report last week by a British newspaper correspondent asserts that McCone and others in the CIA have been complaining to the book publisher, have been making inquiries about buying up the entire edition and have been suggesting to selected newspaper columnists that the pair has done something disloyal in writing their book.

Publishing the names of several CIA agents never mentioned before is reportedly one of the CIA's chief complaints. Authors and publisher deny this, saying that all names came from newspapers, published congressional testimony or court records, except for a few already widely known to both newsmen and diplomats.

It is reported that CIA officials also claimed the book was inaccurate. If this charge is true, then changes should be made. Yet when asked to furnish a list of specific errors, the CIA did not do so, according to reports.

Certainly there are times when it is essential that a government ask reporters to refrain from writing information which truly affects the welfare of the nation and its people, and rare indeed are any cases where reporters failed to abide by such security requirements. But, just as certainly, there come times when fair comment and criticism of any government or its agencies are essential.

If there is a real question to be decided between these two positions in this case, it should be decided on the basis of public interest.

**DES MOINES, IOWA
REGISTER**

m. 229,979
S. 522,784

Front Page Edit Page Other Page

JUN 21 1964

Date:

Inside Look at U.S. Spy Operations

By Charles Bailey

(Of The Register's Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, D. C. — One of the persistent and troublesome problems of American government in the age of the cold war is the proper role of what can loosely be termed "cloak-and-dagger" activity — spying, intelligence-gathering and other clandestine operations.

None but the naive would deny the need, if only in the interests of self-preservation, for the United States to engage in this kind of thing. But many, acknowledging this need, still wonder what we are doing—and whether we are properly controlling what we do.

Two experienced Washington newspapermen now offer, in their book, "The Invisible Government," by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross (Random House, New York; \$5.95) a detailed look at many, if not all, of the things we are doing in this area. In addition, they provide compelling and often disturbing evidence that the traditional organs of government have dangerously inadequate control over this secret work.

Probe U.S. Involvement

Wise and Ross provided a glimpse of the secret government when they wrote their first book on the



BAILEY

fair. This time they have probed U. S. involvement in a great many other matters, including the 1961 Cuban invasion, operations in Laos and Viet Nam, and revolutions in Latin America, Iran and Indonesia.

They also present new details on the structure of the American "invisible government", its cost, and the ways in which it has reached out to take root in this country as well as abroad.

There has been a good deal of semi-anonymous criticism from "official sources" about this book. It is alleged—though neither the Central Intelligence Agency nor any other officials will say so publicly—that the book contains errors of fact and disclosures that could endanger national security.

Clearly, the book must be embarrassing to the CIA and other agencies and individuals involved, since it lays out in detail a number of matters which those concerned would obviously prefer to have left unrecorded.

But a reading of "The Invisible Government" also leads the reader to conclude that the authors have done their work with care. The book is well-documented—a first-rate piece of reporting in an area where no official cooperation could be expected.

The Need To Know

And there are dozens of places where Wise and Ross have obviously avoided the gratuitous use of names and other specifics that might have spiced up their

An argument can be constructed—in deed, this was the thrust of the under-table efforts to suppress the book—to the effect that the book should not have been published. But it's not much

of a case. The need for clandestine operations in today's world does not cancel out, but in fact increases, the need for us to know, at least in general, what's going on.

A Good Look

"The Invisible Government" is well-written, and reads in many places like a spy novel. But this is not the only reason why it should be read; far more compelling is the fact that it will give most Americans their first good look at a vastly expensive, highly important and extremely risky sector of government operations.

When secret government activity reaches out so far as to affect the conduct of a presidential campaign—as the authors convincingly claim the Cuban operation did in the 1960 contest between Kennedy and Nixon—it is time that the country, even if it accepts the situation, knows about it.

As Wise and Ross conclude, "The danger of exposure is far less than the danger of secret power."

ROCKFORD, ILL.

STAR

m. 53,986
S. 72,377

Front Page Edit Page Other Page

Date: JUN 21 1964

Critical Study Of CIA Role

By HAL NELSON
Associate Editor

"Primary concern of the men who drafted the Declaration of Independence was the consent of the governed. By the mid-twentieth century, under the pressures of the cold war, the primary concern of the nation's leaders has become the survival of the governed."

This quotation is from a recently published book entitled "The Invisible Government", over which considerable controversy has been raging. There are some who believe the book should be suppressed because it purports to reveal the secret role the Central Intelligence Agency plays in the internal affairs of foreign governments while Washington issues official disclaimers.

The authors are two Washington newspapermen, Thomas B. Ross and David Wise, who maintain that their book doesn't reveal any cold war secrets while it defines and describes the massive, secret government functioning in Washington with the CIA in the key role.

We're inclined to agree with them. We didn't learn much new from the book. It is sort of a shocker, however. Not so much because of the cloak and dagger intelligence of our country—with more dagger than cloak in numerous cases—but because

so many tumbling failures appear to have been racked up.

Four chapters are devoted to CIA's intricate plan for the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. Perhaps the authors are too inclined to criticize, but we got the impression that if our nation's survival still rests with the men responsible for the incredible series of blunders which marked the invasion we are truly in a bad way.

In fact, Ross and Wise make the Cuban fiasco sound like a James Bond thriller gone completely awry.

CIA insists that a majority of its operations have been successful, according to the authors. Two successes are publicized—in Guatemala and Iran. But if the successes outnumber the sensational failures in many parts of the world, then the CIA has managed to keep some successes a secret.

Most of the facts in "The Invisible Government" can be authenticated from newspaper and magazine articles as well as speeches and papers issued by public officials. Whether the conclusions are biased or not is something else again. We hope our record for bumbling isn't as bad as it sounds.

Unquestionably there exists a secret intelligence machinery in our government. Survival of our nation depends on knowledge of what's going on in governments around the world. Whether our government should secretly participate in revolutions in other countries is something else again. We're all for letting our people and the people of the world know what we're doing and why. We'll stick by the principle that government should be with the consent of the governed. If we're going to invade Cuba or Guatemala or Laos, let it be done with the approval of Congress.

Nelson

KOKOMO, IND.
TRIBUNE

e. 25,404

S. 25,407

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JUN 21 1964

Date:

We Buy This Premise

We go along with the thesis of a new book entitled "The Invisible Government," namely that the government in Washington is in some respects a hidden one which the American people, who finance it, have a right to know about. Authors David Wise and Thomas Ross, two first rate journalists, describe the book's premise as being that even in a time of cold war, the government must rest, in the words of the Declaration of Independence, on "the consent of the governed," and that there can be no meaningful consent where those who are governed do not know to what they are consenting.

What is the invisible government? According to Wise and Ross, it consists of the various secret intelligence agencies that have multiplied in number and grown in power since the end of World War II. These include the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the intelligence services of the Army, Navy and Air Force, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research. These agencies employ 200,000 people and spent \$4 billion a year.

The book discusses the strange history of the Bay of Pigs fiasco; the success of the C.I.A. in arranging the coups d'etat that threw out the Mosadegh government in Iran in 1953 and the Arbenz government in Guatemala in 1954; the C.I.A.'s disastrous support of Indonesian rebels in 1958 which hardly made Sukarno more sympathetic to the Western nations; the equally misguided C.I.A. support of Chinese Nationalist guerrillas in Burma, which antagonized the Burmese with equally grievous results; the electronic marvels of photography and space satellites, which have introduced automation to espionage; and "black radio," which is secret propaganda broadcasting.

Say the authors: "The secret intelligence machinery of the government can never be reconciled with the traditions of a free republic. But in a time of cold war, the solution lies not in dismantling the machinery but in bringing it under greater control. The resultant danger of exposure is far less than the danger of secret power. If we err as a society, let it be on the side of control."

As we said, we buy that.

CARLISLE, PA.
SENTINEL

e. 10,791

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Date: JUN 20 1964

"Invisible Government"

The powerful and often mysterious role played in our foreign relations by various secret services, notably the Central Intelligence Agency, is the subject of "The Invisible Government," a new book written by two young Washington correspondents. The authors, David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, have this to say about their book:

"It is an attempt to describe a hidden American institution which the American people — who finance it — have a right to know about: The premise of this book is that even in a time of cold war, the United States government must rest, in the words of the Declaration of Independence, on 'the consent of the governed.' And there can be no meaningful consent where those who are governed do not know to what they are consenting."

The CIA gathers and evaluates information. That is its primary function as an intelligence service. The CIA also conducts various "special op-

erations," of which one was the Bay of Pigs effort. It has often been contended — and "The Invisible Government" virtually takes this as its thesis — that these "special operations" are sometimes carried on without the knowledge of U.S. ambassadors in the countries involved, or even of high State Department officials in some instances.

This is given a grim immediacy by the disclosure that American civilian pilots have been flying combat missions in The Congo under contract to the Congolese government. This was acknowledged by the State Department under circumstances suggesting that the U.S. Embassy in Leopoldville really did not know what was going on.

Have The Congo flights been part of a CIA special operation carried on in secret? It looks much like an example of invisible government in action.

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA
HERALD

e., 20,779

Front Page Edit Page Other Page

Date: JUN 12 1964

CIA "Action Day Late, Dollar Short"

It is puzzling to learn that the Central Intelligence Agency is making an apparent bid to suppress or censor a book due to be published about U. S. secret intelligence operations.

The agency's desire to protect national security is understandable, but a burning question remains unanswered: How did the book's authors gain access to the secrets in the first place?

Characteristically, agency spokesmen had nothing to say on that matter. In fact, they did not claim that the book's publication would violate any security classification of information. They merely contend, we are told, that publication of the book would prove harmful to national security. How's that for muddy logic?

First, the book is about "secret" intelligence operations, but no claim to security classification violation is made. The spokesmen merely contend the book would be "harmful" to national security. Well, does the book contain national secrets or doesn't it? If so, or if it contains "harmful" information, why isn't the data classified? And, again, how did the authors, two Washington newsmen, get hold of it?

The book, "The Invisible Gov.
Approved For Release 2006/01/09 : CIA-RDP66B00403R000500100010-3
Randon House. Officials of the firm said they asked twice that the

complainants give them a list of any errors. Though agreeing to do so, the agency has not complied.

CIA sensitivity to publicity is well-known, but if they can not establish that the book violates security provisions they are clearly out of bounds in striving to suppress or censor it. Even if the book does violate security, it seems like a heck of a time to have just discovered the leak.

HARTFORD, CONN.
TIMES

e. 128,545

Front Page Edit Page Other Page

Date: JUN 20 1964

Huge Intelligence Octopus Seen Secret U.S. Government

THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT, by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, Random House, \$5.95.

By ARLINE B. TEAHAN

PICTURE a vast and secret octopus whose enormous tentacles reach into the lives of 190 million unsuspecting Americans — this, say the authors of "The Invisible Government," is our nation's intelligence operation.

So complex, they maintain, are the workings of the Central Intelligence Agency and its extensive affiliates, that its right hand is ignorant of what its left hand does. So powerful and pervasive is this enormous spy system, including its unlimited "secret operations" that although it was only created in 1947, already "the dagger is more important than the cloak."

Solemnly the authors warn that, like some Frankenstein's monster, the CIA now "sets its own policies, outside of presidential control and has a quasi-independent power and status of its own." Yet they concede the necessity of some form of Invisible Government to insure our national survival.

PROBABLY FEWER than a half dozen Americans in the highest governmental posts (all of whom are too busy for casual debate) are qualified to answer the questions raised in this book to judge the accuracy of the book's statements or to evaluate its

conclusions. Certainly the authors, who are free enough with their horrible examples, nevertheless beat a hasty retreat from the great and baffling question: How far can a free society, in order to preserve itself, emulate the methods of a closed society without becoming indistinguishable from it?

Like some strategically placed live wire, this book will repeatedly shock its readers with its revelations. The authors, who are members of the Washington Bureau of the Chicago Sun-Times and the New York Herald Tribune, respectively, write in terse jargone which rises at times to dramatic heights.

RELENTLESSLY, they uncover incident after incident of the blunders, the excesses, the double-dealing of the CIA abroad — all of which point to a dangerous dichotomy: That while official U. S. foreign policy is

working publicly in one direction, the CIA is working secretly in the opposite one, and the devil take the hindmost Ambassador... .

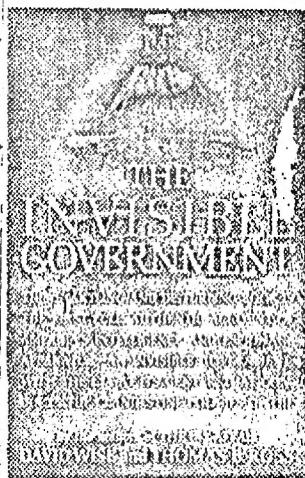
They describe the intriguing example of the Peace Corps, which under explicit orders from director Robert Sargent Shriver, rejects immediately volunteers with any previous connection whatever with the CIA; they recall the advice of then Vicepresident Lyndon Johnson to Shriver as he was setting up the Peace Corps: "Avoid the three C's—Communists, Cuties and CIA."

THE BOOK has its villains—CIA's first civilian director Allen Dulles and his successor John A. McCone; it has its Roosevelt, who as CIA's "Mr. Iran, became the central figure in some shadowy backstage maneuvering" and directed a revo-quasi-heroes such as "Kim" Roosevelt, grandson of Theodore Roosevelt; it has its sinister figures and its imaginative spy techniques, such as offering the Christian symbol of the fish in a standing position to signify an impending invasion. It reads simultaneously like some fantastic spy story and some tragicomedy of errors.

The tale of the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion is told in all its confusion, its frustrations, its denials.

Vividly the authors describe CIA activities in other famous trouble spots: Laos, Burma, Vietnam, Iran, Guatemala; and the wonder grows that all the complex meddling and muddling trouble.

SERIOUS of purpose, tireless in their research, the authors purportedly wrote this book "to inform the American people on the interlocking, hidden machinery that carries out U. S. policies in the Cold War." They have so informed us, adding



their recommendations for tighter presidential controls, fuller congressional information, greater official frankness and reassessment of CIA domestic activities.

Thought-provoking, startling—if even half of what it asserts is true, the nation should beware. But if you have a tendency toward insomnia, avoid this book — for it is crowded with the horror and excitement of the horror and excitement story, except that the story is real, the spies are our own and the ending is in doubt.

JOURNAL
(S.-JOURNAL-STAR)

e. 44,972

S. 56,683

Front Page Edit Other Page

96

Date: JUN 21 1964

Could the Dagger Rip the Cloak?

The Invisible Government. By David Wise and Thomas R. Ross; Random House.

Five rubles will get you 10, and a troikaful besides, this book quickly scoots to the top of the Soviet best-seller list.

It ought to do pretty well in the West, too.

Nowhere else does it seem possible for the average browser to sneak a better inside look at the U.S.A.'s governmental intelligence community.

One can certainly appreciate why the top two officials of the Central Intelligence Agency pleaded, unsuccessfully, with Random House to either suppress or "sanitize" press runs.

By naming intelligence officials, by reporting on matters which ordinarily never get into print until a generation later, newspapermen Wise and Ross touch a most sensitive nerve.

Power Packed Pyramid

This country's table of intelligence organization is spread flat, pyramiding up in what the authors call the Invisible Government. Their thesis is this government, nourished by \$4 billion yearly, is increasingly escaping from popular control.

Save for the President, authority is fully vested in the so-called 54-12 group, over which John McCone, director of the CIA, presides.

CIA has a growing rival, we learn, in the DIA (Defense Intelligence Agency), both of which need data produced by the NSA (National Security Agency), a really super-secret outfit, with many matters coming to the USIB (United States Intelligence Board).

bination isn't clinical in its entirety, the authors still go into considerable small detail in their fascinating documentary.

Diplomats in the Dark

CIA's operations in covertly trying to shape the course of destiny in Burma, Cuba, Indonesia, Iran, Egypt, Guatemala, Germany—you name it — make pretty graphic reading.

What is somewhat saddening is that these operations often were conducted without the knowledge of normal U.S. diplomatic chiefs.

Even today, after President Kennedy sought to tighten up control, the CIA still wields a relatively free hand, the authors contend, exercising authority independent of our ambassadors.

In 1956, Sen. Mansfield failed in a resolution asking closer congressional scrutiny of the intelligence community. He argued the intelligence agencies were drifting out from traditional checks.

A spokesman for the Senate's inner club, Russell of Georgia, rebutted: "It would be more desirable to abolish the CIA and close it up, lock, stock and barrel, than to adopt any such theory that all members of Congress are entitled to know the details."

Wise and Ross do not dispute the need for a massive intelligence structure, even though its innate secrecy is abhorrent to the open traditions of American life.

What they worry about is the dagger overcoming the

m. 122,245
S. 158,027

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Date: JUN 21 1964

CHW
CLC

BOOKMARKS

Semi-Visible

By Glenn Scott

Virginian-Pilot Sunday Editor

"Gentlemen do not read each other's mail," former Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson said in 1939 as he ended the code-breaking operation of the State Department.

Stimson's gallant-if-shortsighted apothegm no doubt is as widely known in intelligence circles as Neville Chamberlain's confident assurance of peace in our time is to the English-speaking world. But the sentiment is inappropriate in what often is the least good of all possible worlds. The contest for international supremacy has been raised to the atomic degree, which may be the ultimate degree, and gentlemen do read each other's mail—on a grand scale.

Moreover, the means of gathering information about the doings of foreign powers range from em-

ployment of sophisticated eavesdropping and photographing space satellites through the systematic study of alien publications to kidnapping and torture (and murder after the subject has talked).

Further, the craft of intelligence, as former Central Intelligence Agency Director Allen W. Dulles has called it, is not confined to the collection and analysis of information. It includes the preparation and dissemination of propaganda, counterespionage and the subversion and overthrow of unfriendly governments in behalf of the national interest.

The United States is involved deeply in the flourishing Cold War business of spying. Just how deeply will come as a surprise to most Americans who until now have lacked a summary of the intelligence and espionage activities directed by the executive branch of the federal government.

In "The Invisible Government" (Random House, 375 pp., \$5.95) to be published tomorrow, David Wise, New York Herald Tribune Washington bureau chief, and Thomas B. Ross, a member of the Washington bureau of the Chicago Sun-Times, have provided the first comprehensive look at this half-glimpsed world. In so doing—and agreement is far from total on this—they have performed a public service as necessary to the continued health of the republic as the operation of a secret intelligence network is to its survival.

CIA Concerned

Publication of "The Invisible Government" has made some members of the intelligence community unhappy. CIA Director John A. McCone and CIA Deputy Director Marshall S. Carter approached Random House, according to a news story by Charles W. Bailey of The Minneapolis Tribune and Des Moines Register, in an apparent effort to suppress or censor the book. They complained that the study contains errors and breaches of security.

Columnist Marquis Childs reported on May 20 that intelligence officials allege 112 breaches of security, including the identification of 26 or 27 CIA agents never before mentioned publicly and disclosure in detail of four covert CIA operations which are still active.

Newsweek's sharp-eyed reviewer found several errors in the text, said CIA alleges 120 security violations and turned up some Soviet intelligence experts who "state unequivocally that much of [the] information 'could not have been acquired by the Soviet secret service.'"

(Some official suggested that the 20,000 copies of the first printing be purchased by the government on the condition that the book be revised, but this was not done. Look Magazine has published excerpts from it, and the book itself is available in local bookstores. It will be reviewed on this page next week.)

Random House president Bennett Cerf has said allegations that the book violates security are "nonsense." He said it contains no information that has not been made public previously in newspapers, court records, congressional hearings and similar sources. CIA RDP66B00403R000500100010-3
It is contrary to the public interest to suppress the book.

Embarrassment Probable

Undoubtedly "The Invisible Government" is causing embarrassment. It chronicles not a few of the ineptitudes of secret agents and suggests that some CIA men have undermined the authority of U.S. ambassadors in critical situations abroad.

In the sense that much of "The Invisible Government's" material is not known widely and no doubt carries some government security classification, it can be said to contain security violations. But in the sense that the bulk of its information is available generally to certain sophisticated persons and to newsmen with time to do some checking around (and so, presumably, to America's enemies), it seems unlikely that the book breaches security. However, few persons beyond members of the top secret "54-12" special group, which oversees "special operations" of U.S. intelligence for the President, are in a position to know how much damage, if any, "The Invisible Government" has done.

"The Invisible Government" has some value to hostile powers in propaganda attacks against the U.S. But in this regard, it ranks far below the downing of a U-2 plane over Russia and the failure of a U.S.-supported invasion at the Bay of Pigs.

The hand of the CIA rarely has been concealed from our friends or our adversaries in the crises, coups and intrigues it has engineered in Laos, Viet Nam, Indonesia, Guatemala, Iran, Burma, Cuba. . . . The American people are the ones who have lacked a survey of the \$4 billion-a-year business, with the CIA at its center, which employs some 200,000 persons and conducts the clandestine policies of the United States. Some of these policies, as the authors note, constitute acts of war, involve our national prestige and affect the welfare of all 190 million of us.

A debate on the role the Invisible Government should play in the protection of the nation is overdue. Wise and Ross have assembled enough information to support their suggestion that the intelligence services, under cover of the Cold War, have achieved a quasi-independent status of their own. If this is so, it is worth worrying about.

"The Invisible Government" is a book that leaves a citizen older but wiser. It provides a sophisticating experience and, as such, should raise the quality of understanding of the conduct of foreign affairs in the 20th Century.